VOL. V. NO. 92
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1917

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
OCT 29 1917
PERIODICAL DIVISION

MR. PRESIDENT WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR WOMEN
"SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY" W.W.
HOW LONG MUST WOMEN WAIT FOR FREEDOM
JAIL
DEMOCRACY BEGINS AT HOME!
"LIBERTY IS THE FUNDAMENTAL DEMAND OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT"
Allender

Drawn by Mrs. Nina E. Allender

Headquarters for the Next Six Months

National Woman's Party

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, LAFAYETTE SQUARE, WASHINGTON, D. C., *Tel. Main 5437*

BRANCH HEADQUARTERS

Connecticut, 456 Washington Street, Hartford

Delaware, 17 East 7th Street, Wilmington, *Tel. Wilmington* 5580

District of Columbia, Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C., *Tel. Main* 5437

Indiana, 611 Fletcher Savings and Trust Co., Indianapolis

Maryland, 817 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, *Tel. Mt. Vernon* 3279

Massachusetts, 401 Phillips Building, 120 Tremont Street, Boston, *Tel. Fort Hill* 2825

Minnesota, 206 Studio Building, corner Market and Fourth Streets, St. Paul

New Jersey, 709 Union Building, Clinton Street, Newark

New York, 13 East 41st Street, New York, *Tel. Murray Hill* 5444
50 East 42d Street, N. Y. City (City Committee)
381 Main Street East, Rochester

Pennsylvania, 213 Hale Building, Philadelphia, *Tel. Filbert* 5652

Rhode Island, 5' ...nster Street, Providence

OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP. Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

Executive Committee

Miss Alice Paul, N. J., *Chairman*
Miss Anne Martin, Nev., *Vice-Chairman*
Miss Mabel Vernon, Nev., *Secretary*
Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, Md., *Treasurer*

Mrs. Robert Baker, D. C.
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, N. Y.
Mrs. John W. Brannan, N. Y.
Miss Lucy Burns, N. Y.

Mrs. Gilson Gardner, D. C.
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md.
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa.

Miss Doris Stevens, Neb.
Miss Maud Younger, Cal.

National Departments

Legislative
Chairman, Miss Anne Martin

Lobby Committee

Mrs. Robert Baker
Mrs. Alvin Barber
Mrs. Gilson Gardner
Mrs. William Kent
Mrs. George Odell
Miss Maud Younger

National Headquarters Maintenance Committee
Mrs. William Kent

National Headquarters Manager
Mrs. Ella Morton Dean

Organization
Miss Katherine Flannagan

Pageant
Miss Hazel MacKaye

Political
Miss Katherine Morey

Press
Chairman, Mrs. Robert Baker
Secretary, Miss Beulah Amidon

Supplies
Mrs. Bessie Papandre

Executive Secretaries

National Headquarters, Miss Virginia Arnold

Pennsylvania Headquarters, Miss Caroline Katzenstein

National Organizers

Miss Lucy Branham
Miss Iris Calderhead
Miss Sarah Grant
Miss Gladice Greiner
Miss Natalie Grey
Miss Alice Henkle
Miss Elsie Hill
Miss Rebecca Hourwich
Miss Katharine Mullen
Miss Jane Pincus
Miss Margery Ross
Miss Clara Louise Rowe
Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant
Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson
Miss Margaret Whittemore
Miss Joy Young

National Committee of State Chairmen

Alabama
Mrs. H. L. White
1026 South 32d St., Birmingham

Arizona
Mrs. H. L. Corl, Nogales (acting)

Arkansas
Mrs. Edward M. Jarrett
Rush, Marion County

California
Mrs. Elinor Carlisle
Vine St., Berkeley

Colorado
Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler
1225 Wood Ave., Colorado Springs

Connecticut
Mrs. W. D. Ascough
456 Washington Street, Hartford

Delaware
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles
17 East 7th Street, Wilmington

District of Columbia
Mrs. W. Thompson Burch
21 Madison Place, Lafayette Square
Washington, D. C.

Florida
Mrs. A. Leight Monroe
215 11th Street, Miami

Georgia
Mrs. Beatrice Castleton
312 Healy Building, Atlanta

Idaho
Mrs. S. E. Beggs
Rathdum

Illinois
Miss Ella Abeel
4907 Vincennes Ave., Chicago

Indiana
Mrs. M. J. Anderson
932 N. Rural St.
Indianapolis

Iowa
Mrs. A. N. Beim
979 26th St., Des Moines

Kansas
Miss Nell Ainslie Anthony
1227 Polk Street, Topeka

Kentucky
Miss Edith Callahan
2016 3d Ave., Louisville

Louisiana
Mrs. M. L. Graham-Bankston
5321 Freret St., New Orleans

Maine
Mrs. Robert Treat Whitehouse
108 Vaughan Street, Portland

Maryland
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker
817 North Charles St., Baltimore

Massachusetts
Miss Olive M. Belches
Framingham

Michigan
Mrs. Nelson Whittemore
2967 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit

Minnesota
Mrs. A. R. Colvin
Davern Avenue, St. Paul

Mississippi
Mrs. A. C. R. Richardson
313 N. State Street
Jackson

Missouri
Mrs. Edith Barriger
5430 Cabanne Avenue, St. Louis

Montana
Mrs. C. S. Haire
528 Hemlock Street, Helena

Nevada
Mrs. M. S. Bonnifield
Winnemucca

New Hampshire
Miss Sallie W. Hovey
214 State Street, Portsmouth

New Jersey
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins
709 Union Building, Clinton St.
Newark

New Mexico
Mrs. Joshua Raynolds
308 South High Street, Albuquerque

New York
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont
13 East 41st Street, New York City
Mrs. John Winters Brannan (acting)
125 East 57th Street, New York City

North Carolina
Mrs. Arthur Taylor
805 Worthington Ave., Charlotte

North Dakota
Mrs. Elizabeth Darrow O'Neil
714 Eighth Street, Fargo

Ohio
Mrs. Valentine Winters
319 West 1st St., Dayton

Oregon
Dr. Florence Manion
1010 Selling Building, Portland

Pennsylvania
Miss Mary Ingham
213 Hale Bldg., Philadelphia

Rhode Island
Mrs. Richard Jackson Barker
"The Outlook," Tiverton

South Carolina
Mrs. W. P. Vaughan
R. F. D. Route 8
Greenville

South Dakota
Mrs. A. R. Fellows
Sioux Falls

Tennessee
Mrs. L. Crozier French
620 West Cumberland Ave., Knoxville

Texas
Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe
909 West 18th Street, Austin

Utah
Mrs. Elizabeth Jenkins
37 South 6th St. East, Salt Lake City

Vermont
Mrs. J. Borden Estee
Montpelier

Virginia
Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith
204 East Grace Street, Richmond

Washington
Mrs. Frederick Forrest
2417 Pacific Ave., Spokane

West Virginia
Miss Florence Hoge
Edgewood, Wheeling

Wisconsin
Miss Ada James
Richland Center

Wyoming
Dr. Frances M. Lane, Cody

National Advisory Council

Chairman, Mrs. John Rogers, N. Y.

Secretary Miss Maud Younger, Cal.

Mrs. Frederick T. Ackermann, N. Y.
Mrs. Robert Adamson, N. Y.
Mrs. Charles E. Amidon, N. Dak.
Miss Jessie Ashley, N. Y.
Miss Mary E. Bakewell, Pa.
Mrs. Bion H. Barnett, Fla.
Mrs. Cyrus Beard, Wyo.
Mrs. Mary Ritter Beard, N. Y.
Mrs. Toscan Bennett, Conn.
Mrs. William B. Boulton, N. J.
Mrs. Howard P. Boyle, N. J.
Mrs. Virginia M. Branner, Iowa
Mrs. Alfred H. Bright, Minn.
Reverend Olympia Brown, Wis.
Mrs. Robert Bruere, N. Y.
Miss Mary A. Burnham, Pa.
Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, Col.
Mrs. Anne Wells Cannon, Utah
Mrs. John Carey, Ind.
Mrs. Joseph Carey, Wyo.
Mrs. Thomas L. Chadbourne, N. Y.
Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron, Utah
Mrs. William L. Colt, N. Y.
Miss Anna Constable, N. Y.
Mrs. Vincent Cook, Ore.
Mrs. Avery Coonley, Ill.
Mrs. Frank Cothren, N. Y.
Mrs. Julius Crisler, Miss.
Mrs. R. P. Crump, Miss.
Mrs. Lucius M. Cuthbert, Col.
Mrs. George H. Day, Conn.
Dr. Maria M. Dean, Mont.
Miss Lavinia Dock, Pa.
Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, N. Y.
Miss Crystal Eastman, N. Y.
Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Cal.
Mrs. Robert Patterson Finley, N. J.
Mrs. William Floyd, N. Y.
Mrs. Marie Moore Forrest, D. C.
Mrs. J. Andre Fouilhoux, Ore.
Miss Susan P. Frost, S. C.
Mrs. Emma Maddox Funck, Md.
Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding, Cal.
Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, N. Y.
Mrs. Adolphus E. Graupner, Cal.
Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, Pa.
Mrs. Jennie Law Hardy, Mich.
Mrs. W. E. Hardy, Neb.
Mrs. F. R. Hazard, N. Y.
Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, Cal.
Mrs. William Randolph Hearst, N. Y.
Mrs. George Hendrie, Mich.
Mrs. Elon Hooker, N. Y.
Mrs. Henry E. Hovey, N. H.
Mrs. Frederick C. Howe, N. Y.
Miss Mary Ingham, Pa.
Mrs. Inez Haynes Irwin, N. Y.
Mrs. Charles Gilmore Kerley, N. Y.
Dr. Cora Smith King, Wash.
Mrs. Otto Kirchner, Mich.
Mrs. Alexander Kohut, N. Y.
Miss Fola La Follette, N. Y.
Miss Gail Laughlin, Cal.
Miss Stephanie Levert, La.
Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd, Ill.
Dr. Sarah H. Lockrey, Pa.
Mrs. Harry Lowenburg, Pa.
Miss Belle McGibeny, N. J.
Miss Bernice McCoy, Idaho
Mrs. Benton MacKaye, D. C.
Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, Cal.
Mrs. Lionel S. Marks, Mass.
Mrs. Marcus M. Marks, N. Y.
Miss Julia Marlowe, N. Y.
Miss Helen Marot, N. Y.
Mrs. Harris Masterson, Texas
Miss Edythe Wynne Matthison, Conn.
Miss Marion May, N. Y.
Mrs. Cyrus Mead, Ohio
Miss Vida Milholland, N. Y.
Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe, Kans.
Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, Mass.
Mrs. John T. Morrison, Idaho
Mrs. Henry Moskowitz, N. Y.
Mrs. William Spencer Murray, Md.
Mrs. Adelina Otero-Warren, N. M.
Mrs. Marsden Perry, R. I.
Mrs. Amos Pinchot, N. Y.
Mrs. Annie Porritt, Conn.
Mrs. Alden Potter, Minn.
Mrs. James M. Rector, Ohio
Mrs. Henry Ridgly, Del.
Miss Ella Riegel, Pa.
Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, Ill.
Mrs. A. S. Rossin, N. Y.
Mrs. Charles Edward Russell, D. C.
Mrs. Frederick Sanborn, Cal.
Mrs. Townsend Scott, Md.
Mrs. Eugene Shippen, Mich.
Mrs. Frances Thurber Seal, N. Y.
Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Ind.
Mrs. Austin Sperry, Cal.
Mrs. Albert Steinfeld, Ariz.
Mrs. Julius Stone, Ohio
Miss Grace Strachan, N. Y.
Dr. Elizabeth Thelberg, N. Y.
Mrs. David D. Terry, Ark.
Mrs. Mary C. Therkelsen, Ore.
Mrs. Robert Gibbes Thomas, S. C.
Miss Clara L. Thompson, Mo.
Mrs. Shelley Tollhurst, Cal.
Mrs. Samuel Untermeyer, N. Y.
Mrs. Richard Wainwright, D. C.
Mrs. Hattie D. M. Wallis, Texas
Mrs. Thomas F. Walsh, D. C.
Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, D. C.
Dr. Marion Walker Williams, Ariz.
Mrs. S. B. M. Young, Mont.
Mrs. Fanny Bloomfield Zeisler, Ill.

Notes of the Week

Wyoming's Pride in Suffrage

THE Wyoming State Federation of Women's Clubs is behind a movement to make December 10 a state holiday to celebrate the granting of equal suffrage in Wyoming. This first state to give women the franchise passed the suffrage bill on December 10, 1869.

Resolutions passed at the present annual convention of the state federation endorsed the movement for national suffrage.

Where Law is Still in Sway

"THE gunman who on behalf of the employer used to drive the picket off the streets is now himself driven off. He is a criminal and he is treated as a criminal. Pickets in New York today exercise in full their full legal right of peaceful picketing. . . . You cannot permit picketing, any more than you can permit free speech, unless you are strong, unless you are efficient, unless you have a police force that can control a crowd."

William Hard calls attention in the *New Republic* to the force of order in New York City. Suffragists must contrast such a condition in the one city with its opposite in the capital of the United States Government, where women peacefully petitioning the Government for liberty are roughed and arrested and imprisoned in complete defiance of all law. The contrast is heightened by the fact that in Washington the police themselves have turned gunmen.

Liberty Day

WEDNESDAY, October 24, has been appointed Liberty Day in solemn proclamation by President Wilson for furthering the second war bond campaign. On the eve of Liberty Day, fires will be lighted "in every city, town, and village, and at every crossroad and country schoolhouse in the United States," to symbolize that America is keeping alight the fires of liberty "for the guidance of a darkened world."

The liberty fire in the District of Columbia will be kindled by Mrs. McAdoo, the daughter of President Wilson, near the Washington Monument, too far from the District jail for its flames to be visible to the nineteen women imprisoned there for asking political liberty in this enlightened country.

Woman's Place

A CONVENTION of the wives of employes of the National Cash Register Company was last week called in Dayton, Ohio, by John H. Patterson, president of the company. Women from every state and from Canada assembled to discuss business conditions and how they can best co-operate from their homes in the work of their husbands. This is the first gathering of this kind ever planned and carried out in this country. But Mr. Patterson some years ago held such a meeting of women connected with the agencies of his company in Germany and found the efficiency and welfare of his employes increased by it.

Mr. Patterson, a strong supporter of national suffrage, gave out this statement in regard to the convention: "The importance of woman's place in the world is just beginning to be realized. I am a firm believer in suffrage and in women's rights."

The new idea of efficiency in industrial life leads the head of a great business to recognize and arrange for the part that even the women whose work lies in home-making play in the complicated machinery of the modern industrial world. Surely it is not impractical, when more and more women are being poured from the home into industry, to expect the Government to follow after business in adjusting itself to new conditions. One might even have expected the Government to hold to a more disinterested standard than business.

Suffrage Coming in England

THE British government, says the *Common Cause*, English suffrage paper, will now, after the recess of Parliament, put through the Franchise Reform Bill. Parliament adjourned before getting through consideration of the final clauses of the bill, which includes many other phases of franchise reform besides woman suffrage. The bill has been again taken up since Parliament opened on October 16 and is to be passed completely as soon as possible.

It is to the interest of the government to pass the bill, since a general election cannot safely be held under the old franchise regulations and an election may have to come at any moment. The clauses so far passed have had such big majorities —the woman suffrage clause a majority of 330— that the attitude of the House is clearly favorable. The press has stood strongly behind franchise reform, and the government has every reason to feel the country behind it in hurrying the bill into effect.

Half democracy in England has already proved itself inefficient. As in the United States a government that refuses to act from the principle of justice in giving women political liberty, is being led to act for the sake of expediency.

Democratic America

WHEN Herr Hasse, on behalf of the Independent Social Democrats, recently urged to the Reichstag the need of woman suffrage in Germany, he declared that the workers of the country want a democratic franchise for the German states, including women, and that the postponement of this reform till after the war would provoke deep unrest. He said:

"At a time when throughout the whole world there are such great revolutions, it is surely not too much to expect that here in the Reichstag a bill be introduced extending the Reichstag suffrage, including woman suffrage, to the individual states."

It may not be too much to expect in Germany, but the War Administration in the United States thought it almost treasonable for American women to expect it.

German Women Demand Suffrage

THE women of the free town of Hamburg, Germany, demand immediately their full rights as citizens. Twenty-seven thousand women of the city, the women's unions, including the ten thousand members of the Hamburg Housewives' Union, have co-operated in a petition to the Hamburg Senate, after learning that a constitutional committee has been appointed for the revision of the franchise. They said:

"The proposed revision of the franchise in Hamburg is due to the recognition of the self-sacrifice of the whole people in war-time. Hamburg women, in common with the people of the whole country, feel that in franchise revision they cannot be passed over. Without comparing their efforts and sacrifices with those of the men at the front, they claim that the war has prepared them for citizenship. They have borne their share of the burdens of war that has deprived them of sons and husbands, whose places they have also had to take in the labor market. The great share of relief and social work has fallen on them. And they wish to devote themselves to the work of reconstruction.

"In order to fulfill their duties as citizens they claim citizen rights."

An enormous mass meeting supported this appeal, declaring that the importance of the problems of the woman worker made suffrage necessary at once, and that the new orientation brought about by the war could not leave out women.

War Policy for Canada

SIR ROBERT BORDEN, premier of Canada, who has just formed a union government, sets forth the program on which the government will go before the country for election as more vigorous prosecution of the war and reform, including national equal suffrage.

The liberal policy of reform he outlines includes, besides the franchise for women, the curbing of excessive profits, labor representation in the cabinet, the restriction of combines to increase prices, and the reduction of the cost of production and marketing of food.

Woman Elected to the Alberta Parliament

MISS ROBERT MACADAMS, of the Canadian Military Nursing Service, is one of the two members of the Alberta Parliament elected by the Alberta soldiers and nurses in service. Her colleague is a man and she was the only woman among twenty candidates. Miss Macadams is the second woman elected to the legislature in Alberta.

Like all Canadian nurses Miss Macadams holds the rank of lieutenant. The matron ranks as captain, and the chief matron as major—women of all ranks getting the pay of men in that rank.

Seven Months Sentence for National Suffrage Leader

ALICE PAUL is in jail. The Administration tools have sentenced the leader and the inspiration of the active wing of the American suffrage movement to serve seven months, on the charge of "obstructing the traffic" on Pennsylvania Avenue.

"I am being imprisoned," said Miss Paul, as she was taken from the District police court to the patrol wagon that carried her to jail, "not because I obstructed traffic, but because I pointed out to President Wilson the fact that he is obstructing the progress of democracy and justice at home, while Americans fight for it abroad."

Dr. Caroline Spencer, secretary of the Colorado branch of the Woman's Party, who traveled from Colorado Springs to Washington to petition the President for justice to women, was sentenced with Miss Paul, to the same term.

THE second picket line that Miss Paul led went out Saturday, October 20. Three suffragists followed her to the west gate of the White House, where for five months the brave picket banners flew their silent appeal without molestation. Dr. Spencer had been arrested with Miss Paul on October 4, was tried and found guilty with her on October 6, and, like Miss Paul and the other nine who picketed with them, released without sentence. Miss Gladys Greiner, of Baltimore, and Miss Gertrude Crocker, of Hinsdale, Illinois, whose sister, Ruth, has just been released from Occoquan, were the other two pickets. For these two "first offenders" the court resorted to its former practice of "$25 or thirty days."

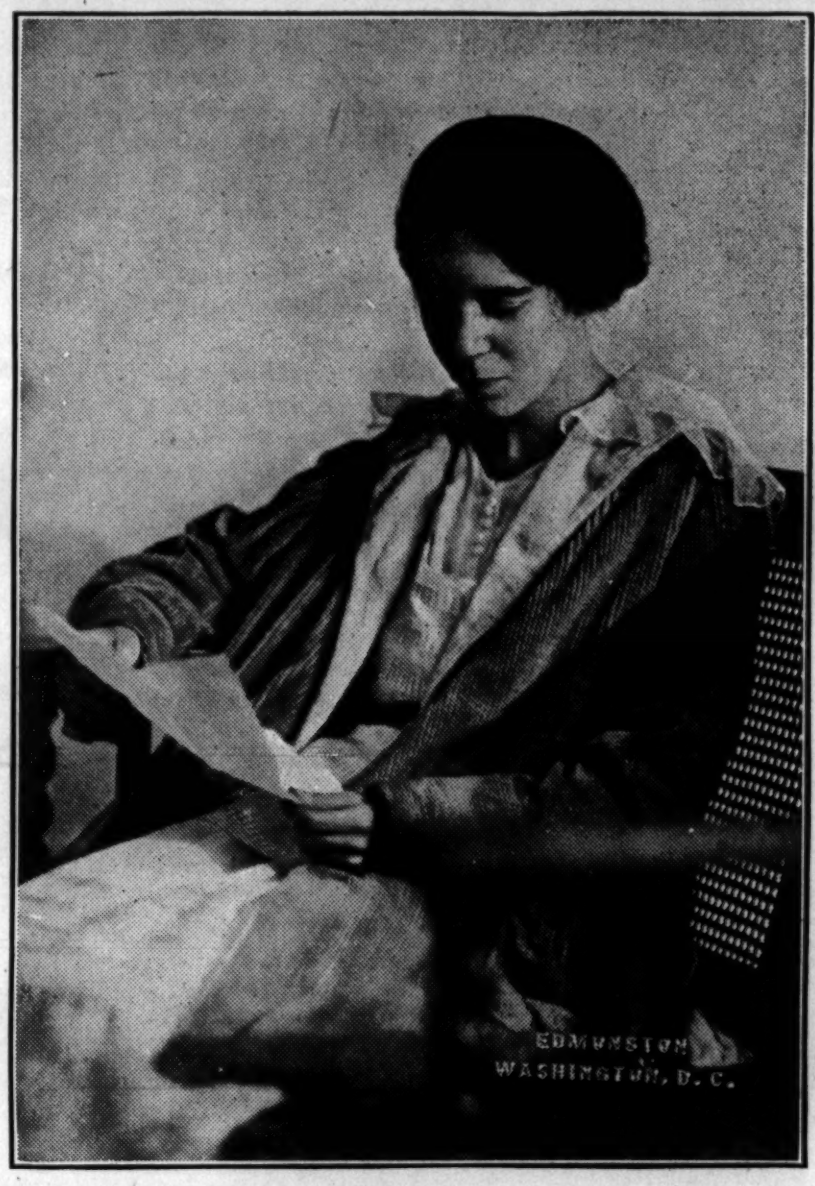
Miss Paul carried a banner inscribed with the quotation from President Wilson that is the slogan for the Second Liberty Bond Loan of 1917: "The time has come to conquer or submit. For us there can be but one choice. We have made it." Dr. Spencer's banner bore the watchword of '76, "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God."

The pickets went out at four-thirty. As usual, the police let the crowd gather "to see what the police would do." Then the four women were placed in the patrol wagon and taken to the District jail.

THE evidence presented by the prosecution in the District police court the following morning, on which two women were sentenced to half a year in jail, was this:

Assistant Corporation Attorney Hart: Sergeant Lee, were you on Pennsylvania Avenue, near the White House, Saturday afternoon?

Lee: I was.



Alice Paul

Hart: At what time?

Lee: About 4:35 in the afternoon.

Hart: Tell the court what you saw.

Lee: A little after half past four, when the department clerks were all going home out Pennsylvania Avenue, I saw four suffragettes coming down Madison Place, cross the Avenue and continue on Pennsylvania Avenue to the gate of the White House, where they divided, two on the right and two on the left side of the gate.

Hart: What did you do?

Lee: I made my way through the crowd that was surrounding them and told the ladies THEY WERE VIOLATING THE LAW BY STANDING AT THE GATES, and wouldn't they please move on.

Hart: Did they move on?

Lee: They did not. And they didn't answer, either.

Hart: What did you do then?

Lee: I placed them under arrest. . . .

Hart: What did you do then?

Lee: I asked the crowd to move on.

Captain Sullivan, too, testified briefly, also explaining that the pickets were arrested before any attempt was made to move the crowd.

Judge Mullowney admitted that the court was nonplussed at there still being pickets in the face of his disapproval, and seemed to feel that the chief question at stake was the dignity of the police court. He said: "You ladies seem to feel that we discriminate in making the arrests and in sentencing you. The result is that you force me to take the most drastic means in my power to compel you to obey the law."

Miss Rose Winslow, of New York, already serving a six-months' sentence for picketing on October 15, was in court, with the other three arrested with her, to receive further sentence for having picketed on October 4. She declared the confusion of the suffragists to be quite equal to that of the court.

"You sentence us to jail for a few days, then you sentence us to the workhouse for thirty days, then sixty, then thirty, and then you suspend sentence. Sometimes we are accused of carrying seditious banners, then we are accused of carrying purple, white and gold banners, then of obstructing traffic. How do you expect us to see any consistency in the law or in your sentences?"

And the court smiled as though he were not after all concerned with justice, and pronounced an additional thirty days, explaining with painstaking care, "First you will serve six months, and then you will serve one month more."

ALL the suffrage prisoners, including the ten who were in Occoquan, have been removed to the District jail, and are locked in cells two by two. In spite of the dampness and chill of the old stone building, which forces the women to wrap themselves in newspapers, a practice borrowed from the trenches of Europe, their spirit is undaunted.

Unlike Superintendent Whittaker, Warden Zinkham does all that he reasonably can to make the condition of the prisoners under him endurable. Except in the case of the prisoners brought in from Occoquan, who are being punished, some letters may be received, and two a month written. The prisoners are allowed books, and fruit may be sent them. Best of all, there is none of the petty persecution which was a constant trial at the District workhouse.

THERE are eighteen women in jail today, because they asked their Government to establish democracy at home. "We thought picketing had stopped," the police court judge admitted. Presently the Administration, from the police captain who makes the arrests, to the powerful man in the White House who forms the policies, and sees that they are carried out, will discover that right agitation cannot be crushed, that the only reason women will cease to remind the world of political injustice to women will be because the injustice is corrected.

The Federal Amendment and the National Party

THE National Party, which was organized early in October in Chicago by the progressives, the prohibitionists, a group of the socialists, and groups of single-taxers and independents, has made the demand for the national suffrage amendment one of the strongest points in its platform, and has invited the National Woman's Party to join forces with it, either by completely merging into one political organization or by co-operating in the next congressional election.

The opening note of the convention touched on the suffrage question. It was sounded by John Spargo, who stated, "This iniquitous discrimination on sex lines must be removed." Miss Margaret Whittemore, national field secretary of the Woman's Party, addressed the convention on the work of the Woman's Party, dealing particularly with the recent attitude of the Administration in imprisoning women for picketing the White House. Professor Hayes, of Wellesley College, also spoke on the subject, pointing out how far the United States is behind most of the countries of Europe on this question.

THE first plank in the platform of the National Party turned on the question of the national suffrage amendment. It read:

"Universal Suffrage. There can be no equality of opportunity in political affairs and consequently no complete democracy so long as one-half of the adult inhabitants are denied a voice in forming the laws under which they are to live; the right of suffrage shall not be denied, or abridged on account of sex. We therefore demand the nation-wide enfranchisement of women upon equal terms with men, and favor the immediate adoption of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the federal Constitution."

A resolution was also passed by the convention, embodying its demand for the federal amendment. The resolution read:

"Believing that our power in this great struggle for democracy in the world would be enormously increased thereby, we strongly urge upon the President of the United States and upon Congress the desirability of immediately passing the federal suffrage amendment to the end that the forces of democracy in the nation may be solidified. To make our democracy complete by the recognition of equality and citizenship would add enormously to our own strength and be an inspiration to all the forces of democracy in the allied and enemy nations."

In the course of the convention men and women from all parts of the country came up to Miss Whittemore to testify to their sympathy with the work of the Woman's Party. Socialists, prohibitionists, progressives, single-taxers and independents of all kinds offered to help in their home districts in promoting a nation-wide drive for national woman suffrage.

FOLLOWING the convention, Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, one of the founders and leaders of the National Party, wrote to Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Woman's Party, asking whether the Woman's Party would be willing to merge with the National Party, and suggesting that in case a union were effected, the two organizations might co-operate in the coming election campaign. This proposal will be laid before the Advisory Council conference of the Woman's Party to be held in Washington in December. It will be presented to the conference by Mr. Hopkins and other representatives of the National Party.

"The Silent Sentinels"

By A. Sussman, Labor Editor of the Philadelphia Jewish World

(Translated from the Yiddish of an article in The Jewish World.)

IF you have been in Washington you surely did not fail to see the "Silent Sentinels." If you are contemplating a visit to the Capital of the Republic be sure to see the "Silent Sentinels." A time will come when your children or your grandchildren will read about the "Silent Sentinels" in their school books. In the history of the struggle of the women for their rights it will be recorded in letters of gold.

Day in, day out, this "Silent Sentinel" stands at the White House, in the very center of the living, pulsating heart and ever active mind of the American nation. Summer and winter, regardless of heat or cold, in blizzard or in rain, in storm or in sunshine—you will always find the "Silent Sentinels" at their post, lips mute, but with determination writ on their faces; their hearts filled with protest, with chagrin, with sacred fire and deep conviction that victory will eventually crown their efforts to obtain those human rights of which they are now robbed.

THE spirit of the new woman, the awakened consciousness, the highest desire and the noblest passions of twenty million daughters of this Republic deprived of their rights are marching behind the "Silent Sentinels." Mute, but resolute, stepping boldly, they are marching on. They can be seen but not heard. And yet they speak millions of tongues—theirs is the language of the storm wind and the volcano.

Not many understand the language. Some pretend that they do not understand, but all feel the significance and the power of these wordless "Silent Sentinels."

The "Silent Sentinels" are more than their name indicates. They are the veritable advance guard of the aroused, self-respecting among our mothers, sisters, wives and sweethearts. The Sentinels guard nothing. Their mission is to tear open the gates of the citadel behind which is only half of the democracy of our Republic and to unite them with the other half, so that there be real meaning to the word democracy.

IN appearance the "Silent Sentinels" are peaceable. Their weapon is nothing more than banners bearing inscriptions. They are, however, the embodiment of a gigantic military army, which is waging a war for peace, for right and for equality.

Fools laugh at the "Silent Sentinel;" cynics poke fun; rogues endeavor to besmirch it. All that is old, decayed and reactionary opposes it. Cowards ignore it. They whose eyes have learned to behold the souls of the morrow see the shadows of the approaching event; hear the voice of the future—they whose souls are nests for freedom's dreams. Right and equality salute the "Silent Sentinels," for they are united in the struggle.

The "Silent Sentinels!" To the petty they are nothing more than a group of grey-haired women and blossoming young girls who have "broken loose," who have forgotten or who never knew the "higher mission" which the man, in the name of God, has given the woman—the mission of patiently carrying the burden of life, of serving the man and keeping her mouth shut; the mission of bringing children into the world that the man may have to enslave; the mission of keeping the fires of the home burning while the man turns the world into darkness.

THE "Silent Sentinels" are women with creative genius, patriotic, proud and daring—a living protest against a false democracy. Rebels of freedom are they, who have shattered the old rusty traditions, discarded the old concepts and forever banished the laws which their bread-winners have created for them.

The "Silent Sentinels" are the royal guards of the great army of women who are forsaking their harem life, where they were the slaves and play-toys of the man for thousands of years, to enter the great world and to claim the historic heritage—their human rights.

The weapons of the "Silent Sentinels" are the banners they carry. These banners bear many inscriptions. They speak to you, but they do not tell you all. You can read more in the sound of the women's determined footsteps, in their normal, healthy heart-beats, in the fire of their eyes and above all, in the eloquent silence of these "Silent Sentinels."

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported
Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Present Status
In the Senate
On the calendar awaiting a vote.
In the House
Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee
In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon
In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

Editors
Miss Pauline Clarke Miss Vivian Pierce

Associate Editors
Miss Lavinia Dock Mrs. Gilson Gardner Miss Pauline Jacobson

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

Business Department
Advertising, Miss Hazel Hunkins *Circulation*, Miss Elizabeth Smith
Subscription: Domestic, $1.00; Foreign, $1.50. Single copies, 5 cents. Make checks, drafts, and post-office orders payable to The Treasurer of the National Woman's Party

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

35

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3, 1879

An Appeal for Protest

THE imprisonment of Alice Paul and her sentence of seven months in Occoquan workhouse will serve only to stimulate members of the National Woman's Party to work with renewed energy in the campaign planned by their fearless leader. They know that their most welcome tribute to her will be a re-dedication of themselves to the cause of freedom for women. We send you greetings of good cheer, and pledge our best service and financial support.

MARY H. INGHAM, Philadelphia.

This telegram to headquarters from the Pennsylvania state chairman of the Woman's Party expresses what every member of the Party feels with Alice Paul in prison.

The way to serve at once is clear. On November 10 the last picket line before the new session of Congress will demand that President Wilson direct Congress in his message to pass the federal amendment.

Alice Paul and the sixty-five other women who have served sentences will have won liberty for all women by the sacrifice of personal liberty if suffragists prove to President Wilson that the strength of women demanding national suffrage now cannot be crushed by persecution.

The Administration is uneasy because it has played with woman suffrage too long. Only a little more agitation will force it to do justice to women.

A protest picket line one hundred women long must go out on November 10. One hundred women standing for political liberty at the gates of the Administration that makes "democracy" its war-cry cannot be jailed. One hundred women will evidence a will for liberty so strong that the Administration must yield to it and pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment in the December session of Congress.

Come and make the picket of November 10 the last picket for freedom.

The New York State Suffrage Referendum

ALL good suffragists are once again eagerly awaiting the result of a New York state referendum.

It seems this time, as it has before, that the tireless, valiant effort the New York women have put into their campaign must bring them victory. Only the fact that the forces against them are under-ground, secret, elusive, makes the prophesy of victory uncertain.

At any rate, whether there is defeat or triumph ahead for New York women in November, it is possible to consider now the channels into which the strength of the organization built up for the campaign, the energy of the women roused for it, will be turned after November?

The federal amendment and the work for it in Washington has come to be the thing in which, even beyond their own state work, the suffragists of the nation are interested. If New York women do secure the vote and devote their new power to enfranchising the women of the rest of the nation, the federal amendment will receive an immense impetus. But if the New York referendum is again lost, it is still no less certain that when the women of New York turn their experience, their determined energy and the large sums of money they have been expending in their own state, to federal work, the passage of the amendment will be a thing of the very immediate future.

ONCE the national amendment is passed the problem of New York, as of all the other states, will become so simple that there will no longer be any question of defeat. To get the necessary ratifying vote of a majority of one in the state legislature where voters are above the average intelligence and votes a matter of record, would indeed be child's play to women who have struggled in tenements and streets and remote country districts, to win a majority of all the votes, illiterate and bought in the city and state of New York.

If this campaign is not won, the proof will be sufficient that no campaign of education and pleas to individual voters ever can be won. In many other states the recent referendums have convinced suffragists of the waste and futility of state work.

IF all this strength in the states could now be temporarily united and directed against the opposition at Washington the blockade against the amendment here would rapidly be lifted and the way lie open back to the states for ratification, which with only thirty-six states needed and suffrage already in seventeen, will be readily secured. The superhuman effort put into state campaigns can benefit the women of that state only—whereas the women of the whole nation would share in the fruits of that effort if it were expended in Washington.

In a united campaign of all American women voting and non-voting, directed on Congress, there would be more than the sum of the strength of the various state organizations. There would be new inspiration for the workers and new dignity for the cause of suffrage in the very fact of a great national concentrated movement. Every state cannot win its freedom separately because many state constitutions are to all practical purposes not open to amendment, but if every state could and did enfranchise its women itself, the result would not be the same. The freedom of American women is a national question, one fundamental to our national democracy and representative form of government, the just settlement of which belongs to Congress and must be made a part of the federal constitution.

Why the Federal Amendment

By W. H. Crichton Clarke

(Washington and New York lawyer who has supported the New York state campaign)

HOW much more treasure and time must be expended by women in fruitless state campaigns for the vote, before they realize that the quickest and surest way to their goal lies through a constitutional amendment; and the way to that is a congressional resolution, and the way to that is a little presidential pressure; and the way to that is through woman's war work and her voting power in the West?

When women have had as much political experience as men, they will realize that the adroit plans of both great political parties in the last campaign to steer them away from the constitutional amendment and up against the case-hardened prejudices of Eastern voters, is the most convincing proof it would be possible to marshal that the constitutional amendment is a loaded gun and the state method is a blank cartridge. A moment's thought will convince the most skeptical that if the politicians had the least real hope of being able to defeat a constitutional amendment, they would submit it to the states and then snow it under with great glee. They would take the keenest joy in permitting women to play at amending the fundamental law, if they did not know with the prescience of keen political vision that woman's triumph lies that way as surely as her discomfiture lies the state way.

And the reason bares itself to fair analysis:

THE answer lies in the fact that all the fight against a federal amendment must be waged out in the open, while the most effective work against state enfranchisement is done behind closed doors. The federal way is one of open measures and public balloting; the state way comprises hidden opposition and secret balloting. Strange, is it not, that the secret ballot which politicians fought so long, should be their refuge in the fight against woman's enfranchisement?

There are no real arguments against votes for women, only prejudices. Prejudices can be safely indulged in the secret voting booth, but in the public forum they are boomerangs. No man has to justify his secret vote, but his public act must be backed with candor and truth.

In the state campaigns, the politicians can play with the women; with a federal resolution, the women could play with the politicians. The state organizations encourage the women in public and then secretly vote them down. The politicians make promises to the ear and break them to the hope.

But with the federal plan, every promise must be redeemed. There is no secret nook or cranny along the entire federal route. The President has long since abandoned any attempt to explain his failure to send a message to Congress, but his very silence publishes volumes to the world. He tried to explain once that he could not initiate congressional action, but the reversal of his own campaign speeches on Panama Tolls and the European War issue has shot that excuse to pieces. The real reason is that he knows an amendment would go through and he is afraid of offending Southern supporters by starting it on its way.

But the fact that he is unable to justify his action publicly and that his every state paper on democracy is converted into a mockery because he is unwilling to fight for complete democracy but merely for male democracy, makes his position less bearable every day. He is out in the open and has no means of defense. He wants woman's support, and yet is unwilling to recognize her rights, and the shame of it bites into him.

LET all the force and effort which women are now diverting from him and wasting on the red-herring trails of state campaigns be once brought fully to bear on the President, and his own friends and supporters will be the first to urge him, as an act of justice and an urgent war measure, to send a message to Congress urging a constitutional amendment enfranchising women.

Once that message is sent, the vote on the congressional resolution will mean a public showdown, and it is not popular for congressmen to vote against woman's rights. The power of publicity will do its work.

Then will come the open balloting in the state legislatures where the politicians all keenly realize that it is not good for their political health to vote publicly against the women, and that secret balloting is out of the question.

The difference between the federal and the state way of securing democracy for women is the difference between candor and prejudice, publicity and secrecy, success and failure. With the voting done in the open, the women cannot fail; with the voting in secret, they can hardly succeed.

WOMEN are too keen not to take advantage of the political sagacity of those politicians who are plotting against their hopes, and who seek to camouflage the door which leads to woman's success, and to write "welcome" on that door which is intended to steer them up the blind alley of state failures. Women should now know that the declaration against the federal amendment in both the Democratic and Republican platforms was dictated by the conviction of shrewd politicians that an amendment spells speedy democracy for women, because it means pitiless publicity for those who oppose women's share in the common rights of humanity.

While the President is sending millions of men abroad to fight for man's democracy, let him also send a message to Congress for woman's democracy, in order that all the vast energy which women are putting into the task of securing democracy from men may be placed at the disposal of those men who are defending their own votes against the onslaughts of Prussianism.

Free Russia Calls to American Women

By Nina Samorodin, of Kiev, Russia

SINCE my youth I remember myself wondering and asking questions, Why are not men and women equal politically? And I was told, because they are not equal mentally.

This answer made me study the mental development of both sexes, in theory and practice. What I found I need not tell you, because you know it well. Only narrow-minded people dare deny the fact that women and men develop minds alike, if given the same opportunity.

Born and brought up in a country where the great mass of men and women were equally denied their political rights, I came to the United States a little over three years ago to learn industrial and political democracy.

It is useless to tell you about the great disappointment I met in the labor question. No, there is not such a thing as industrial democracy in the United States.

IN my own country I learned that the women of the United States have the vote in a few states only. Once when I met an American I asked him why American women did not have the vote all over the country, and if there were any movement among them for it. He said: "According to the Constitution of the United States, every citizen has the right to vote and to be elected to political office after he or she reaches a certain age. If the women of the United States do not vote it is their own fault." I believed this without question.

Now, after being a few years in this country, what did I find out? Yes, that American friend of mine told me the truth. According to the wonderful and democratic Constitution every citizen of this country has the right to vote. So a woman has the right of being elected and to elect. After the Constitution was issued, the men in power thought that it might be of more benefit to them to monopolize the political rights for themselves. So they did.

Nina Samorodin
Imprisoned One Month at Occoquan

At first the women did not understand that they were being robbed. After they understood, they began to ask for their rights. Not being competent in political dealings, and being gentle and polite, instead of *demanding* their rights they *asked* and *begged* for them. This was the first great mistake of the American women. A thing that is stolen from any one is never got back by begging; but by demands and by force.

So the women went on begging and in seventy years they had got suffrage in seventeen states. And possibly in seventy more years they would have won in this way the rest of the states for suffrage.

THE National Woman's Party is the first suffrage organization that has taken the right course. I did not belong to any suffrage organization before, but now I am with the National Woman's Party. As a Russian I believe in direct action.

The President's act in having peaceful women arrested and sent to the workhouse because on their banners is written, "How long must women wait for liberty?" proves more than anything an old Russian proverb: "The truth blinds the eyes."

I went to picket and to the workhouse to protest to the United States Government for its injustice to women. In the workhouse I thought for hours during the long nights, "What is the matter with the American women that they do not come in hundreds to the White House gates? Are they asleep? Are they near-sighted that they do not see that state suffrage does not solve the problem? It is hard to spend a month in prison; yet it is harder to be exiled to Siberia. And fear of Siberia did not stop the revolution in Russia."

I believe that the working women of this country especially need the vote now more than ever before. Now when your men are called to go abroad *to make the world safe for democracy*, you working women are left to the protection of men who do not care for your welfare. Working women of this country, arise now and demand your political rights. Prove that the American woman is strong enough to help herself.

The Empty Cup

By Katharine Rolston Fisher

EVENING at Occoquan. Rain pelts the workhouse roof.
The prison matrons are sewing together for the Red Cross
The women prisoners are going to bed in two long rows.
Some of the suffrage pickets lie reading in the dim light.
Through the dark, above the rain, rings out a cry.
We listen at the windows. (Oh, those cries from punishment cells!)
A voice calls one of us by name.
"Miss Burns! Miss Burns! Will you see that I have a drink of water?"
Lucy Burns arises; slips on the coarse blue prison gown.
Over it her swinging hair, red-gold, throws a regal mantle.
She begs the night-watch to give the girl water.
One of the matrons leaves her war-bandages; we see her hasten to the cell.
The light in it goes out.
The voice despairing cries:
"She has taken away the cup and she will not bring me water."
Rain pours on the roof. The suffragists lie awake.
The matrons work busily for the Red Cross.

National Suffrage Campaign Through the Country

AS THE Administration is forced more and more into the open in its efforts to stamp out the national suffrage fight by jailing suffragists for longer and longer sentences in the District, the National Woman's Party is carrying the truth about the federal amendment situation further out from Washington into every state in the country.

In the far Northwest Miss Ann Martin, vice-chairman of the Party, has recently toured Wyoming and Montana with a series of notable meetings. After Miss Martin's Colorado meetings, Dr. Margaret Long, of Denver, motored her into Wyoming, and together they spoke at Cheyenne, Laramie and Caspar, everywhere finding Western voting women wide-awake to the fact that no women are "free women" until all women in the United States have part in the national government. Miss Martin reports them keenly aware of the economic and social questions at stake now, and urgent that all women have a hand in their adjustment. One of the most important Wyoming meetings was at Caspar. Mrs. C. E. Winter, county chairman of the Woman's Party, and wife of Judge Winter of the District Court, presided, and strong resolutions were sent to President Wilson urging him to recommend national suffrage as a war measure in his coming message to Congress. Mrs. Winter will serve as legislative chairman of Wyoming.

Ann Martin, Vice-Chairman of the Woman's Party, at the Top of the Continental Divide in Wyoming

In Montana Miss Martin visited Billings, Butte, Helena and Great Falls. In Billings she spoke at a tea given at the Northern Hotel, which won much added support for the Party. The following officers of the Second Congressional District were elected: Chairman, Miss Gwendolyn Haste; vice-chairmen, Mrs. R. B. Morrison and Mrs. R. A. Ridge. In Butte Miss Martin met the leaders of many women's organizations at a lunch arranged by Miss Mary O'Neil, well-known Montana suffragist, and spoke at an evening meeting that brought many new members to the Woman's Party. Miss O'Neil has been made acting state chairman of the Party for Montana, and Mrs. E. M. S. Fite, a state vice-chairman. Both Miss O'Neil and Mrs. Fite are elected local officers of the district as well, with Mrs. W. H. Deakin the district secretary.

ANOTHER front of the Woman's Party drive has now been extended to Wisconsin and Minnesota by Mabel Vernon. Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of the national executive committee, who accompanied Miss Vernon as far as Wisconsin, had to return East at that point because of the departure of one of her sons for active service in the army. In Milwaukee Miss Vernon spoke at a meeting at the house of Mrs. Victor Berger, wife of the former Socialist congressman. Mrs. Berger recently resigned as officer of the state suffrage association in order to give herself to active work for suffrage now.

In Madison Miss Vernon talked to the faculty of Wisconsin University and representatives of Madison clubs at an afternoon meeting, in the evening addressing several hundreds of students at the University Forum, and arousing so much enthusiasm that a temporary committee was formed at once to arrange for establishing a local branch. In Oshkosh she spoke to a gathering of women at the home of Mrs. O. Edward Werner and at two street meetings. Other meetings were held at Racine and Richland Center.

In Minnesota splendid audiences in St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth heard the case for national suffrage. In St. Paul Miss Vernon met many prominent women at the University Club, at a tea arranged by Mrs. A. R. Colvin. In Minneapolis a noon mass meeting was held at the Shubert Theater, at which, besides Miss Vernon, Mrs. Gertrude Hunter, a Minneapolis lawyer, and Mrs. Clara Hunter spoke. This was followed by a luncheon given at the Dyckman Hotel by Mrs. E. D. Durand, Mrs. A. H. Bright and Mrs. A. H. Potter.

IN the Southern division of the Woman's Party campaign, Miss Maude Younger and Mrs. Howard Gould, traveling in Mrs. Gould's "suffrage car," have toured as far South as Georgia. In South Carolina they addressed a series of unusually successful meetings arranged by Mrs. Nina Allender, THE SUFFRAGIST cartoonist, and by Miss Berta Crone, organizer for the National Woman's Party.

In Spartanburg they spoke to a great mass meeting of five hundred men and women. Ex-Governor John Gary Evans helped with arrangements, and Mr. Frank Evans, superintendent of public schools, presided. In Greenville, the home of Mrs. W. P. Vaughn, state chairman of the Woman's Party, over four hundred people gathered in the Colonial Theater to hear the women who brought the truth from Washington about the federal amendment. In Charleston a mass meeting of hundreds of men and women gathered in Hibernian Hall to hear Miss Younger and Mrs. Gould speak, introduced by Mr. Wilson G. Harvey. The committee of women that arranged this meeting consisted of: Miss Susan Frost, Mrs. Robert Gibbs Thomas, Mrs. W. F. Allen, Mrs. Wilson G. Harvey, Miss Carrie Pollitzer, Mrs. R. D. Bacot, Mrs. Lena Ottenlingui, Mrs. John Gibbs, Miss Mabel Pollitzer, Miss Jean Robinson and Mrs. E. H. McIver.

At Orangeburg they spoke at a mass meeting arranged by Mr. Fred Wannamaker under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce, after a luncheon given for them by Mrs. H. Wannamaker. At Gaffney they spoke at the county fair. Other meetings were held at Columbia, Union, Newberry, and Branchville.

Miss Younger reports that everywhere she finds the Democratic South alive to this important issue of democracy for women, and keenly aware that the Democratic Party will be politic to change the attitude it has hitherto taken toward the amendment for national suffrage.

MRS. ROBERT BAKER, national press chairman of the Woman's Party, and suffrage prisoner released on the President's pardon, who will cover the Eastern and New England states in her tour, has recently spoken at meetings in Maryland and Delaware. Mrs. Baker is this week speaking in Philadelphia and other Pennsylvania cities, including Pittsburgh and Harrisburg. Meetings are being arranged for her in New Jersey by Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, state chairman; in New York State by Elizabeth Stuyvesant, organizer; in Massachusetts by Miss Olive Mills Belches, state chairman; in Connecticut by Mrs. W. D. Ascough, state chairman; in Maine by Miss Katherine Morey; in Vermont by Miss Berta Crone, and in New Hampshire by Miss Sally Hovey.

Comments of the Press

Admissions from the Opposition

IF, during the next session of Congress, when the big fight is to be made for a federal amendment, Mr. Wilson is asked by congressional leaders to express an opinion, it is not going beyond the bounds of possibility to predict that the President may furnish more aid to the cause of suffrage in this country that day than he could now by recommendations or utterances. . . . The chances are that when Congress meets again in December it will finally dispose of both the prohibition and suffrage amendments. —*The New York Evening Post.*

Occoquan

THREE months ago hardly a person outside of the District of Columbia had ever heard of Occoquan. Now thousands of people throughout the nation know that at Occoquan is located the mismanaged workhouse for which the United States Government is responsible, as the federal government is responsible for everything in the way of governmental affairs in the District of Columbia, including the unjust and disgraceful treatment given the suffrage pickets. But for these pickets the intolerable conditions in the Occoquan workhouse would have probably continued indefinitely. . . .

Investigation should not stop with the workhouse, but should include a thorough inquiry into the police court methods of Washington. If the farcial procedure employed in arrest and conviction of the pickets is a sample of the manner in which injustice rather than justice is administered in the capital city, we think it is high time for a complete reorganization of the District government.

It would appear that a municipality controlled by the federal government should be a model to other cities instead of disgracing the nation by the stupid and inefficient administration of its government.—*The Patriot Phalanx, October.*

Suffrage and Prison Reform

WHEN the militant suffrage movement began in England it was an entirely new and not altogether painless experience to the English public to see refined, cultured, educated women of blameless character jailed among common criminals. This experience had two results: the one premeditated and planned, the other incidental and entirely unexpected. The result aimed at and accomplished by the suffragists was that woman suffrage became a political issue in Great Britain, and that the attention of the entire civilized world was forcibly called to woman's struggle for equality. The incidental and unexpected result was that England was aroused to the crying need of prison reform.

Today that phase of history is repeating itself in the case of the Washington suffrage pickets. Women of the highest mental and moral type, endowed with unusual courage and perseverance, are going to prison as martyrs to the cause of woman suffrage; they will come from prison enraged at the treatment accorded, not to themselves, but to the most unfortunate among their sisters. They will cry out in the press and from public platforms against the indignities and brutalities practiced against women by prison officials under the very eyes of the federal government, indignities and brutalities which the poor, terrified women prisoners had been accustomed to endure like dumb, submissive animals. . . .

The suffragists themselves, who are going through this painful experience of political martyrdom, will find their views broadened by prison walls as they have never been broadened by freedom. They will feel a new consciousness of human fellowship; they will realize a new sense of responsibility toward that most cruelly abused and most shamefully exploited member of their sex—the bad woman.

It has always been a pet argument of anti-suffragists that woman suffrage would give the bad woman political power. The suffrage advocates of a few decades ago answered this argument by denying it. Modern suffragists answer it by saying that they are perfectly willing, even anxious, that the "bad women," so utterly unprotected in present-day, man-made governments, should at least have the protection of the vote.

We sympathize with the refined girls and cultured matrons who must eat prison fare and sleep among common criminals for quoting Wilson and the Constitution; and yet, in our hearts we cannot feel truly and deeply sorry for them. Their martyrdom is too fine and hopeful a thing, too promising of good results.—*New York Call, September 5, 1917.*

Universal Drive for Democracy

AS I understand the big idea of democracy, it is the incorporation of many lesser issues, the sum total of various ideas on liberty, right and justice; among these issues is that of universal suffrage. The drive toward democracy, apparent in every nation today, includes a greater or less struggle for universal suffrage. Why, then, should we be annoyed that some American women consider it their part in this universal struggle to fight for one of these issues—the one they see clearest, which appears to them most vital?

We who feel it our duty and privilege to roll bandages, collect books or make jam, and who thereby acquire that exquisite sense of achievement without which we are dissatisfied, may be blinded by the vividness of our own sensations to the point of intolerance toward these others who can only acquire the same sense of achievement by another method.

We may or may not approve of their picketing. The "Kaiser Banner" may seem a tactical blunder of the gravest order—the Gallipoli campaign is so considered by many who continue their support of the allied cause. If democracy in its largest sense is worth plunging the world into blood to preserve, isn't any one of its phases worth fighting for? Should the sanitation of cities—and politics; the fight against child labor and graft, or for universal suffrage, go by the boards because there is also to be fought the fight for the whole?

To those who believe picketing is delaying the federal amendment, rather than helping it, I suggest that we wait and see. Possibly the women working in Washington may be better judges than we of what political method will force the Susan B. Anthony amendment through Congress.—*Regina Lunt Dodge in the Colorado Springs Gazette, October 3.*

The Course of Revolution

I WISH neither to commend nor censure the pickets, but to call attention to the fact that both men and women have resorted to far more violent tactics to secure redress of grievances and reform of evils, for which at the time they suffered cruelly and were criticised harshly, but in later years were praised and honored.

There was once a tea party in Boston harbor which brought great indignation and much criticism upon the men who participated in it.

England didn't like it a little bit, and even some of the colonists thought it an unpardonable waste of good tea to feed it to the fish, but now these rebels have an honored place in history and are counted patriots.

We do not need to go back so far in history for examples. Take the labor movement. Where would organized labor be today if men had resorted to nothing more strenuous than picketing the grounds of their employers and carrying banners?

Who will say that these young women will not be remembered in future years as the band of courageous patriots who had a large part in making our Government in very truth "a Government of the people, by the people, for the people"—without respect "to race, sex, color or previous condition of servitude."—*Anna B. Lewis in the Bloomington, (Illinois) Pantagraph, October 8.*

The Democratic "World"

CONGRESS—and the country—have "proclaimed liberty through all the world unto all the inhabitants thereof," and that service will never be forgotten.—*The New York World.*

Censorship

QUITE a joke, that arresting suffrage pickets for carrying banners with quotations from Wilson's speeches. Were they so bad as all that?—*Miami (Fla.) Daily Metropolis.*

And Giving Them Six Months in Prison

NAGGING people who don't agree with everything the Administration does is a poor start towards world democracy.—*Miami (Fla.) Daily Metropolis.*

Complications of a Half Democracy

WE read in *The Official Bulletin* of October 6 that the United States Commissioner of Education, at the request of President Wilson, is going to issue leaflets "as guides to public school teachers to teach children democracy's meaning" and "the privileges and duties of life under our modern social organization."

Those will have to be very well written pamphlets which will teach Western girls that it is their duty and privilege to go to the polls and Eastern girls that it is their duty and privilege to stay away.—*Alice Duer Miller in the New York Sunday Tribune, October 13.*

We Shall See

THE former Collector of the Port, Dudley Field Malone, resigned his post because the Administration was not taking a sufficiently active stand on woman suffrage. The new collector is a violent anti-suffragist. If the Administration becomes more aggressive in its suffrage policy, will Mr. Newton show the same sincerity and courage that Mr. Malone showed—and resign?—*Alice Duer Miller in the New York Sunday Tribune, October 13.*

WOMAN

By VANCE THOMPSON

Author of "Eat and Grow Thin"

Extract from a letter written by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont commending "Woman"

"Dear Sirs:
I have read 'Woman' by Vance with great interest. Besides being of historical value I think it carries a great lesson. I would advise all anti-suffragists and women who have not sufficiently studied their own sphere of life and perhaps neglected to observe their own many failings, to read Mr. Thompson's book. They may perhaps see the advisability of personal study.

"O wa'd some power the giftie gie us,
To see ourselves as others see us."

Yours very truly,
ALVA E. BELMONT
(Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont)

Price $1.25 Net, Postage Extra—All Book Stores

E. P. DUTTON & CO.

681 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

TYPEWRITING

MULTIGRAPHING MIMEOGRAPHING

The Duplicating Letter Shop

Work called for and delivered

M. 6723. 1208 K St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

WHY NOT STAY AT

THE MARTINA

Residence for Ladies

Dining Rooms Open for Ladies and Gentlemen

1719 de Sales Street N. W.

Phone North 5647-J Washington, D. C.

Financial Report

Treasurer: Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall
Assistant Treasurer: Miss Maud Jamison

Bank of Deposit: American Security and Trust Co. Washington, D. C.

Auditors: Marwick, Mitchell Peat & Company

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD $300,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

List of Contributions from October 12 Through October 18, 1917

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Per Pennsylvania Branch:	
Miss Lavinia Dock	$ 5.00
Per Mrs. Ella M. Dean:	
Collected	1.00
Mrs. Ehling	5.00
Miss Lucy Daniels	22.75
Miss Lucy Daniels, (collected)	1.70
Per Miss Mabel Vernon:	
Miss Romaine S. Peter	5.00
Mrs. G. E. Lee	1.00
Miss Agnes Fergerson	2.00
Mrs. Dorris	.25
Miss H. Anna Quinby	5.00
Miss E. Helen Knight	25.00
Miss Mary E. Hawley	5.00
A Friend	5.00
Mrs. A. H. Bright	2.00
Miss Helen Paul	5.00
Mrs. Lillah B. Gray	14.00
Mr. John Pries	5.00
Miss Helen Burns	10.00
L. T.	1.00
Mrs. John Rogers	10.00
Mrs. S. F. Hamp	25.00
Miss Evelyn Hall	1.00
Mrs. Sallie Ginns	10.00
Miss Emma E. Elliot	10.00
Mrs. A. E. McCrea	25.00
Mrs. Ruth Noyes Crocker	1.00
Anonymous	12.00
Miss Elizabeth R. Hooker	1,000.00
Mrs. Nellie M. Perkins	1.00
Dr. Helen F. Perkins	1.00
Mrs. William Colt	15.00
Mrs. Catherine Hoffman	4.00
Mrs. Susan L. Ackerman	25.00
Mrs. Amelia H. Walker	8.00
Miss Lizabeth Wiley	2.00
Mr. R. M. Springer	8.00
Miss Grace Henshaw	50.00
Miss Jessie Anthony	2.00
Mrs. E. M. E. Solly	10.00
Mrs. William H. Blauvelt	100.00
Miss Edith Hall	1.00
Denver Branch	125.00
Agnes Chase	5.00
Mrs. Bertram W. Sippy	50.00
Mrs. van den Arend	5.00
Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke	10.00
Mrs. Mary T. Pflaster	10.00
Miss Katharine Morey, (collected)	.40
Collection, Bloomington	12.75
Collections	27.18
Membership Fees	13.50
Total collected by National Headquarters	$ 1,700.53
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	261,670.52
Total collected by National Headquarters, through October 18, 1917	$263,371.05
Total collected by branches through October 18, 1917	38,189.48
Grand Total	$301,560.52
DEDUCTION:	
Transferred from branches to National Headquarters	2,136.00
Grand Net Total	$299,424.53

Cornelison

715 H Street Northwest Washington, D. C. Millinery Telephone Main 6059

Stone

1222 Walnut St.

"Style without Extravagance" Philadelphia

WOMEN KHAKI CLOTHING

Norfolk Jackets	$3.75
Riding Coats	6.00
Riding Breeches	3.25
Walking Skirts	3.50
Divided Skirts	5.00
Leggins	1.50
Hats	1.00

1331 F St. N. W.

MEYER MILITARY SHOPS

1510 H Street N.W. Washington, D. C.

J. M. Gidding & Co.

Cincinnati Duluth, Minn.

Fifth Ave. and 46th St. New York

SUITS COATS BLOUSES NOVELTIES MILLINERY GOWNS WRAPS FURS

WEST END TRUST COMPANY

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

CAPITAL and SURPLUS

$4,000,000

Receives Deposits

Acts as Executor, Administrator Guardian, Trustee, Agent

Sells Foreign Exchange, Travelers' Letters of Credit, Express Checks

Maintains an Up-to-date Safe Deposit Department and a Storage Department for trunks and packages

Manages Real Estate, Collects Rents etc.

Lends Money on Approved Collateral Security

Exquisitely Arranged Store

Extraordinary Wide Stock

Exceptionally Reasonable Prices

Get Your Groceries at

G. G. CORNWELL'S

1415 H ST. N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.

TELEPHONE MAIN 673

Lanman Engraving Co.

HALF TONES, ZINC ETCHINGS
PROCESS ENGRAVERS

POST BUILDING Washington, D. C.

WE DO ALL KINDS OF

PRINTING

Quick Service Reasonable Prices

Hayworth Publishing House

Phone Main 1062 636 G Street N. W.

Established 1904

HARVEY A. STROUD

Electrical Engineer and Contractor

2103 NORTH ELEVENTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Specialize on EYE COMFORT SYSTEM of Lighting in Old or New Installation. Anything else Electrical, I AM ON THE JOB. Just Write, Call or Telephone

DIAMOND 132

Public Speaking Principles of Common Law
Parliamentary Law Practical Business Course

Paul Institute

2107 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Nanette B. Paul, LL.B.
President

Science, Literature
Music and Art

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Circulation Manager, Miss Elizabeth Smith

Circulation Committee

Miss Nettie Blasing, *Minnesota*
Mrs. Alice Cosu, *Louisiana*
Mrs. Charlotte Dinwiddie, *Colorado*
Miss Edna Griffith, *Portland, Oregon*
Mrs. Josephine Kempt Linton, *Illinois*
Mrs. Nell K. Irion, *Idaho*
Mrs. Ruby Koenig, *Connecticut*
Miss Marion May, *New York*
Mrs. Percy Read, *Virginia*
Miss Blanche Robbins, *Iowa*
Mrs. Abram J. Rose, *New Jersey*
Miss Helen Scott, *Maryland*
Mrs. R. N. Scott, *North Carolina*
Mrs. Elizabeth Sherman, *Massachusetts*
Mrs. M. B. Spellman, *Indiana*
Mrs. Frank Stirlith, *Delaware*
Miss Eliza Tonks, *District of Columbia*
Mrs. James Whittemore, *Michigan*
Mrs. Neuton Wing, *Georgia*
Miss Louise C. Young, *Texas*

Suffragists Attention!

FIFTEEN American women are in prison now for working for suffrage. Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, who started the fight for the Susan B. Anthony amendment in 1913, are both in the District of Columbia jail. More will go to prison.

THE SUFFRAGIST is the only magazine in this country that tells their story. Without THE SUFFRAGIST you cannot follow the progress of the amendment struggle. Help this fight for freedom now, yourself. If you do not yet take THE SUFFRAGIST, cut out the blank below and send it with a dollar to Miss Elizabeth Smith, 21 Madison Place, Washington, D. C. If you are an old reader get one new reader *today*.

For the dollar bill (or check) inclosed, send THE SUFFRAGIST to

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

SECURED BY _____

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers for "The Suffragist"

Miss Iris Calderhead	8
Miss Francenia H. Dale	2
Mrs. Charlotte Dinwiddie	4
Mrs. Dorothy Earle	1
Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall	1
Miss Catherine M. Flannagan	4
Miss Alice Henkle	3
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles	1
Miss Rebecca Hourwich	2
Mrs. Edmond Kelley	2
Mrs. Lillian H. Kerr	2
Mrs. Josephine Kempt Linton	2
Miss Anne Martin	1
Through Massachusetts Branch	1
Miss Marion May	10
Through New York Brench	1
Mrs. George T. Odell	1
Miss Marjory Gibson Ross	1
Miss Lee Anna Starr	2
Miss Mary E. Terry	1
Miss Eliza Tonks	1
Miss Mabel Vernon	7
Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore	2
Total	60

ROSE VALLEY SANITARIUM

MEDIA, PENNA.

"In a valley that's really a hill" near Philadelphia. Beautiful location where health-building is a joy to the weary and ill! OSTEOPATHY for adjustment, and NATURE CURE methods for every-day living. Booklet on request

RUTH DEETER, D. O., Physician-in-Charge

Open Daily 9.00 a. m. to 5.45 p. m.

"THE BUSY CORNER"

S. Kann Sons & Co.

8TH ST. AND PENNA. AVE.

Help

Your Country Win the War.

Buy

A LIBERTY BOND to-day

We Know Our Book

It cost us a bunch of money to learn all the little kinks of printcraft—how to buy in the open market to meet competitive prices and give our patrons the same super-service under war conditions—still they come—we please all—"We Grow 'Cause We Know"

Columbian Printing Company, Inc.

815 Fourteenth Street N. W.

SOCIETY STATIONERY

E. MORRISON PAPER CO.

1009 Pennsylvania Avenue N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mothproof bags and paper for protecting the winter clothing, carpets, rugs, curtains, etc.

Exclusively for Women

Then why not stay at

Hotel Rutledge

Lexington Ave. and 30th St.
New York

Rooms from $1.00 daily

Room with full board from $12.00 to $18.00 per week. All outside rooms

THE

A. T. Lewis & Son Dry Goods Co.

Denver, Colo.

A Store where no transaction is complete until the customer is satisfied.